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## YAHVEH AND MANITOU.

RELIGION, being as much subject to the laws of mental growth as science and industry, follows in its historical evolution a definite course, and we shall therefore find analogous convictions and ceremonials involving a liability to the very same errors in all corresponding periods of history. How surprisingly close these analogies sometimes are will be seen by a comparison of the character of the ancient Yahveh, as described in the oldest records of the Old Testament, with the God-conception of the North American Indians. The data on which we base our comparison are all well-established facts ; but in order to drive home the lesson which they teach and which is neither commonly known nor generally accepted, it is necessary to give a summary and concise recapitulation.<sup>1</sup>

There are three names for God prominently used in the Old Testament: First, אֵל, *El*,<sup>2</sup> or אֱלֹהִים, *Elohim*, also appearing in the form אֱלֹהִי, *Eloah* ; secondly, זְבַאוֹת, *Zebaoth*, and thirdly, יְהוָה, *Yahveh*. In addition, the general term "the Lord," אֲדֹנָי, *Adōnāi*,<sup>3</sup> is quite a common designation.

The first name, *El*, means God as an appellative ; it is probably derived from the root אָלַל, which means "to be strong," and signifies the powerful, the omnipotent. We may incidentally men-

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<sup>1</sup> The idea of this article was suggested to the author while listening to Professor Budde's lecture on Yahveh worship, and we hope that the second part of it will prove of interest to him and give an additional zest to the study of the religion and institutions of the ancient Yahveh cult.

<sup>2</sup> Pronounce "ale."

<sup>3</sup> The affix ך (which must not be confounded with ך, i. e., "my") is of doubtful significance and is commonly explained as a *pluralis majestatis*.

tion that El is used in the sense of God as a general appellative and Elohim, which is a plural form, occurs in several places in the plural sense as "gods," but the typical use of the word, which with few exceptions<sup>1</sup> has been established in the final redaction of the Old Testament, is "God" as a singular, whose plural form is commonly interpreted as a *pluralis majestatis*.

The second name, Zebaoth, is derived from צָבָא, to rise or come forth, commonly used in speaking of the rising of the stars, and means literally "the hosts," especially the host of the heavenly bodies, צָבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם, i. e., the stars or heavenly powers. Like Elohim the plural form Zebaoth is understood as a singular, and is commonly translated by "The Lord of hosts." Zebaoth means God as a designation, and signifies mainly the Deity of warfare, the Lord of armies, the Ruler of the heavens and the heavenly bodies, and the Sovereign King of the angelic world.

The name Zebaoth was mainly used in Ephraim, the most powerful tribe of Israel before the ascendancy of Judah, and we need not hesitate to say that the name reflects the influences of the Zebaism of Israel's eastern neighbors who worshipped the Deity under the symbols of the celestial bodies, and had at an early date attained in the ancient Iran a rare and noble purity, finding their greatest prophet in Zarathustra, the founder of Mazdaism.

The word יְהוָה, Yahveh, is a proper name; it was the name of the God who revealed himself to Moses in the burning bush on Mt. Sinai, and he is pre-eminently the God of Judah.

When Moses in his love of liberty had slain an Egyptian slave-driver, he flew into the free desert and found refuge among the Kenites, a tribe of the Midianites, where he married Zippora, the daughter of Jethro the priest.<sup>2</sup> That Jethro was a priest of Yahveh

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius says in his Dictionary, p. 115, that "Elohim is used as a plural in Gen. xx. 13; xxxi. 53; 2 Sam. vii. 23; Psalm lviii. 12; a practice which by later authors is avoided as polytheistic. S. Lgb. § 184, 1. It is used of any deity in Deut. xxxii. 39; Ps. xiv. 1; and especially of pagan gods in Ex. xxiii. 1; 1 Sam. xv. 7, and even of goddesses in 1 Kings xi. 5. The form אֱלֹהִים is exclusively rabbinical."

<sup>2</sup> Jethro is also called Reguel. See Ex. ii. 18 and Num. x. 29. In Judges i. 16 *et alias*, Moses's father-in-law is called "the Kenite."

becomes apparent from the fact that when Moses with the Israelites met his father-in-law in the desert, it was neither Moses nor Aaron but Jethro who acted as priest of the sacrifice to Yahveh. Jethro apparently exercised a strong influence on Moses, and even after the latter had become the leader of his people, Jethro continued to assist Moses, his son-in-law, with good advice, as is apparent from the detailed account in Exodus (xviii. 13-27), from which it will be sufficient to quote one verse only: "So Moses hearkened to the voice of his father-in-law, and did all that he had said" (v. 24).

Yahveh is identified with the God of Israel, but the name is revealed to the people of Israel for the first time through Moses; as we read (Ex. vi. 2-3):

"And God spake unto Moses and said unto him 'I am Yahveh; and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob as a mighty God (אֱלֹהִים שָׁרִי), but my name Yahveh did I not make known to them.' "

The more the monotheistic conception gained ground in Israel, the more the three names of God, i. e., Yahveh, Elohim, and Zebaoth became to be regarded as appellations of one and the same Deity. The Old Testament, in the form in which it stands at present, is a combination of several books written partly by Ephraimite, partly by Judaic, authors, and finally revised by the hand of a reconciliatory redactor. Some of the sources of the Old Testament called God Elohim, others Zebaoth, still others Yahveh; and then there are such combinations as Yahveh-Elohim, יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים, which is translated in our Bibles, "the Lord God," and Elohim-Zebaoth, אֱלֹהִים זְבָאוֹת (e. g., Psalm lxxx. 8, 15), and Yahveh-Zebaoth, יְהוָה זְבָאוֹת, in the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Zachariah, and Malachia.<sup>1</sup> Jeremiah frequently uses the three names at once,<sup>2</sup> calling God with impressive solemnity Yahveh-Elohim-Zebaoth, יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי זְבָאוֹת, which in his days may have given offence to zealous particularists, but conveys now a peculiar dignity. In the prophet's mouth the com-

<sup>1</sup> The term Yahveh-Elohim does not occur in the Pentateuch and Judges, and the combination Elohim-Zebaoth is rare.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. v. 14; xv. 16; xxxviii. 17; xlv. 7.

bination of the favorite names of God among the rival tribes of Israel into one expression was a powerful appeal to the patriotic sentiment of an undivided nation, and supported the conviction that their belief was substantially the same, that they had one God only, and that this God was the God of all mankind, as the power that makes for righteousness in the world at large.

Yahveh is not a general appellation but a proper name: it means one particular God, viz., the God who revealed himself to Moses. Yahveh possesses more individuality than Elohim and Zebaoth, and is therefore the most interesting name of God. The history of the name reflects the evolution of the God-conception from a comparatively narrow view to a cosmic comprehensiveness. It is the most concrete and the most characteristic term, and has on that account become the dearest of all names of God to the people of Israel.

The name Yahveh is at present commonly pronounced "Jehovah," which, however, is an accident of little importance; for the pronunciation "Jehovah" is of a very recent date: it cannot be found prior to the year 1520, and originated among those Protestant theologians who for the first time began to study the Old Testament in its original Hebrew. There they found the four consonants combined with the vowels of the word Adonāi, i. e., the Lord; for it is known that the pious Jews in the later days of Jewish history, which however antedates the time when the vowels were added to the original Hebrew writings, never pronounced the name Yahveh, and spoke in its place the word Adonāi, i. e., Lord. In the days of Moses, Saul, David, and when the prophets wrote, the name Yahveh was, of course, pronounced, and was frequently embodied in names in the abbreviated form "Ya." The custom originated in a wrong interpretation of the commandment "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain" (Ex. xx. 7), which was later on, on account of a gradual change in the meaning of the word, interpreted to mean that the name of God should not be used at all; and since the pious Jews always substituted Adonāi in the place of Yahveh, the scribes wrote the vowels of Adonāi under יהוה, YHVH, the four consonants of Yahveh. But

no rabbi ever thought of giving it the pronunciation "Jehovah," until Christian theologians of the sixteenth century, in their first attempts at a comprehension of the original, and but still poorly versed in Hebrew philology and tradition, read the word as it stands in the texts; and since then this new and monstrous word-combination has been accepted by the Protestants, has been introduced into the Roman Catholic Church, and finally has crept even into Jewish literature.<sup>1</sup>

To-day the name of Jehovah is reiterated in sermons of all denominations; hymns are sung in its glorification, and devout prayers are uttered in its behalf.

In the mean time Biblical research has established the original pronunciation of the tetragram יהוה, which is now universally transcribed "Yahveh" (in German "Jahweh"), and Hebrew scholars have discovered that the word is not a Hebrew formation, but is derived from some other Semitic dialect, and that its etymological significance is "the overthrower," or "feller," "he who makes fall," which like the Greek *κεραύνειος*, "Thunderer," is intended as a characteristic epithet of the God of Lightning.

This God Yahveh was the local deity of Mount Sinai. Mount Sinai (or Horeb) is expressly and repeatedly called holy ground, the mount of God, and the mount of Yahveh (Num. x. 33, Ex. xxiv. 13, 1 Kings xix. 8). Here the decalogue was given. It is the place whence Yahveh comes (Deut. xxxiii. 2), the place from which he rises to help his people in battle; the place where he resides; and the prophet Elijah undertakes a pilgrimage thither (1 Kings xix. 9), in order to be near the God of Israel and be face to face with him.

How did it happen that the local deity of Sinai became the God of the Old Testament, destined to develop into the Lord Omnipotent, the dispenser of justice and sole ruler of the universe, the

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<sup>1</sup> The first vowel of אָדֹנָי (adonāi), which is a "shva," signifying shortness of vowel, acquires on account of the aleph (א) in Adonāi a tint of the *a*-sound (being written -) and is commonly transcribed as a short *a*; but under the Y (י) it is reduced to a pure "shva," or mere indication of a vowel (written :), which in our mode of writing is expressed by a short *e*.

God of Love and Morality? To explain this would necessitate the writing of a history of the evolution of religion, and, preferring not to enter into the details of these problems, we intend now simply to bring out a remarkable parallelism between Yahveh and Manitou, the Great Spirit, the god of the American Indians.

We shall sketch in broad outlines the character of Yahveh and of his people in the earliest times, and then show, by a comparison of the religion of the Kenites with the faith of the American Indians, how natural this phase of belief is. We, the children of a later age, oftentimes fail to appreciate the struggles which it cost our ancestors to rise from the lower stages of narrow views to the higher and truer religion of civilisation. By comprehending the sincerity of the past ages from which our own convictions have developed through a long struggle with error and superstition, we may learn to respect those brothers of ours who are still erring; and the sentiments of the children of the steppes are so much more vigorous, so much more intense and pathetic than those of civilised man that we can, in spite of our greatly advanced position, still draw inspiration from their fervid zeal and devotion. No one can study the religion of the American Indians without being impressed with the intensity of their faith, and we cannot fail to discover a striking similarity between their mode of worship and the religion of the ancient Hebrews.

A general similarity between the religion of the Indians and the faith of the ancient Israelites has struck some scholars of Indian lore, but the resemblance of Yahveh himself to the Great Spirit of the Indians is in some remarkable details much closer than could be anticipated. James Mooney in his instructive essay on "The Ghost Dance Religion,"<sup>1</sup> compares the civilisation of the two nations as follows:

"In the ancestors of the Hebrews, as described in the Old Testament, we have a pastoral people, living in tents, acquainted with metal working, but without letters, agriculture, or permanent habitations. They had reached about the plane of our own Navaho, but were below that of the Pueblo. Their mythologic and

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<sup>1</sup> In the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1892-1893, Part II., pp. 928 ff.

religious system was closely parallel. Their chiefs were priests who assumed to govern by inspiration from God, communicated through frequent dreams and waking visions. Each of the patriarchs is the familiar confidant of God and his angels, going up to heaven in dreams and receiving direct instructions in waking visits, and regulating his family and his tribe, and ordering their religious ritual, in accord with these instructions. Jacob, alone in the desert, sleeps and dreams, and sees a ladder reaching to heaven, with angels going up and down upon it, and God himself, who tells him of the future greatness of the Jewish nation. So Wovoka, asleep on the mountain, goes up to the Indian heaven and is told by the Indian god of the coming restoration of his race. Abraham is "tempted" by God and commanded to sacrifice his son, and proceeds to carry out the supernatural injunction. So Black Coyote dreams and is commanded to sacrifice himself for the sake of his children."

"Coming down to a later period, we find the Chaldean Job declaring that God speaketh 'in a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men; then he openeth the ears of men and sealeth their instruction.' The whole of the prophecies are given as direct communications from the other world, with the greatest particularity of detail, as, for instance, in the beginning of the book of Ezekiel, where he says that 'it came to pass in the thirtieth year, in the fourth month, in the fifth day of the month, as I was among the captives by the river of Chebar, that the heavens were opened and I saw visions of God.'

"The cloudy indistinctness which Wovoka and his followers ascribe to the Father as he appears to them in their trance visions has numerous parallels in both Testaments. At Sinai the Lord declares to Moses, 'I come unto thee in a thick cloud,' and thereafter whenever Moses went up the mountain or entered into the tabernacle to receive revelations, 'the Lord descended upon it in a cloudy pillar.' Job also tells us that 'thick clouds are a covering to him,' and Isaiah says that he 'rideth upon a swift cloud,' which reminds us of the Ghost song of the Arapaho representing the Indian redeemer as coming upon the whirlwind. Moses goes up into a mountain to receive inspiration like Wovoka of the Paiute and Bi'āñk'i of the Kiowa. As Wovoka claims to bring rain or snow at will, so Elijah declares that 'there shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my word,' while of the Jewish Messiah himself his wondering disciples say that even the winds and the sea obey him."

It is highly improbable that the Israelites should have invented their traditions which are so firmly established in their hearts and again and again insisted on in their written history. There is no nation in the world that would claim to be descended from a race of oppressed slaves, unless the recollection of the days of slavery were based on facts. Many details of miracles that are recorded



during the sojourn in the desert are later reflexions, and especially the legislative work attributed to Moses is an obvious anachronism, but that does not invalidate the trustworthiness of the historical background of the main events, which upon the whole tally marvelously well, not only with other statements of history, but also with the geographical conditions of the country.

The Israelites had crossed at low tide the inlet at the Gulf of Suez and were as by a miracle saved from the pursuing Egyptians by the sudden return of the floods, which is characteristic of the tides of the Red Sea. This happy escape is naturally attributed to the local deity Yahveh.

Without prying too closely into the exaggerations of the Biblical account, which represents a small horde of vagrant nomads as a great and civilised nation, we can easily understand that the escape from Egypt was only the beginning of the hardships of a life in the desert which made the people murmur against their leader. But all difficulties were overcome, partly by good luck and partly by the circumspection of Moses, who was pretty well familiar with the various resources of the desert. He led the Israelites to a place where they found water; he rendered the bitter taste of the water more palatable,<sup>1</sup> and taught his people to catch quails and to gather the edible manna. All desert populations are sparse, and we may fairly assume that the Amalekites, the inhabitants of the northern regions of the peninsula, were not more numerous than are the Arabian tribes that inhabit the country to-day. They met the half starving Israelites with suspicion and hostility, but were too weak to withstand them. After these adventures they came near the place farther south at the foot of Mount Sinai, where the Midianites used to pitch their tents.

The Biblical account in Exodus xviii. 5-12 reads in our authorised version as follows:

“And Jethro, Moses's father-in-law, came with his sons and his wife unto Moses into the wilderness, where he encamped at the mount of God: And he said unto

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<sup>1</sup> Marah, the oasis of the bitter waters, is the present Ajun Musa with its twelve springs of brackish water, the unpleasant taste of which can be somewhat subdued by throwing in wood, on which the salts are partly deposited.

Moses, I thy father-in-law Jethro am come unto thee, and thy wife, and her two sons with her. And Moses went out to meet his father-in-law, and did obeisance, and kissed him; and they asked each other of their welfare; and they came into the tent. And Moses told his father-in-law all that the Lord (Yahveh) had done unto Pharaoh and to the Egyptians for Israel's sake, and all the travail that had come upon them by the way, and how the Lord (Yahveh) delivered them. And Jethro rejoiced for all the goodness which the Lord (Yahveh) had done to Israel, whom he had delivered out of the hand of the Egyptians. And Jethro said, Blessed be the Lord (Yahveh), who hath delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians, and out of the hand of Pharaoh, who hath delivered the people from under the hand of the Egyptians. Now I know that the Lord (Yahveh) is greater than all the gods: for in the thing wherein they dealt proudly he was above them. And Jethro, Moses's father-in-law, took a burnt offering and sacrifices for God: and Aaron came and all the elders of Israel, to eat bread with Moses's father-in-law before God."

The sacrificial meal is the token of a covenant, and the deity of the covenant between the Kenites and the Israelites is Yahveh, the God of Jethro, who (as is expressly stated) on this occasion acts as priest.

Jethro glorifies in Yahveh, not as if he alone were God, for a pure monotheism was alien to the people of this age, but as "being greater than all gods,"—even the powerful deities of civilised Mizraim; for he is the God who "had brought Israel out of Egypt."

Yahveh remained to Israel the God of the Covenant, and the relation between the Israelites and the Kenites always remained one of friendship, and both nationalities regarded their alliance as insoluble and sacred. Hobab, the brother-in-law of Moses, after much persuasion, joined the Israelites on their journey, for he, having grown up in the desert, "knew how they should encamp in the wilderness, and might be to them instead of eyes." (Numbers x. 31.)

In the later history of Israel three tribes of Kenites are mentioned as living at Jabez and being descendants of "Hemath, the father of the house of Rechab."

Now, the Rechabites were a peculiar people who distinguished themselves by their devotion to Yahveh. In fact, Yahveh, through the mouth of the Prophet Jeremiah recommends them for their obedience and faithfulness, while the children of Israel hearkened

not unto him; and the religion of the Rechabites is expressed, in a reply given to Jaazaniah, in these words:

"We will drink no wine: for Jonadab the son of Rechab our father commanded us, saying, Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye, nor your sons for ever: Neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any: but all your days ye shall dwell in tents; that ye may live many days in the land where ye be strangers. Thus have we obeyed the voice of Jonadab the son of Rechab our father, in all that he hath charged us, to drink no wine all our days, we, our wives, our sons, nor our daughters; Nor to build houses for us to dwell in: neither have we vineyard, nor field, nor seed: But we have dwelt in tents, and have obeyed, and done according to all that Jonadab our father commanded us." Jeremiah xxxv. 6-10.

The religion of the Rechabites is apparently the original Yahveh cult, whose most obvious feature is a religious consecration of the nomad life in the steppes with an outspoken aversion to all civilisation as an aberration from the God-ordained estate of life.

The fabrication of idols is rejected. Yahveh said unto Moses (Exodus xx. 23):

"Ye shall not make with me gods of silver, neither shall ye make unto you gods of gold."

Isaiah denounces idols, because they are the work of art and a product of human skill, saying "the idols were no gods but the work of men's hands, wood and stone" (xxxvii. 19); even the altars which are built unto Yahveh must retain the primitive simplicity of uncivilised life. Yahveh says (Exodus xx. 24-25):

"An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings, and thy peace offerings, thy sheep and thine oxen: in all places where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee. And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it."

Flint-knives were used for circumcision.<sup>1</sup> The fire for the sacrifice was produced in some such fashion as to suggest an origin that was not caused by the art of man but "came out from before the Lord." People not familiar with the habits of the sons of the steppes always express their unconcealed astonishment at the way

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<sup>1</sup> Joshua v. 2.

in which the worshippers of Yahveh make fire, and the feat is regarded as a miracle by which a man proves himself a prophet of Yahveh. We read for instance :

"And there came a fire out from before the Lord, and consumed upon the altar the burnt offering and the fat : which when all the people saw, they shouted, and fell on their faces."

The art of making a fire after the old fashion of the inhabitants of the desert, which is regarded as "coming out from before the Lord," has apparently given rise to the idea that the fire of Elijah fell from heaven.<sup>1</sup> Similar instances of making fire in a mysterious way, are repeatedly mentioned in the books of the Old Testament.<sup>2</sup>

Even in the days of Gideon, the Israelites did not live in cities and houses, as did the Canaanites, but in tents,<sup>3</sup> and Gideon selected for his band those only who would even spurn the use of the hand as a substitute for a drinking vessel and lapped the water like dogs.

The character of Yahveh changed gradually; but his temple remained a tent until the reign of King Solomon, and when the old traditions of Israel were revised by the reconciliatory hand of their ultimate redactor,<sup>4</sup> who identified Elohim with Yahveh and combined the traditions of Ephraim and Judah into one, many important features of the religion of Israel which bore witness to antiquated forms of belief, were obliterated in the traditions of the people, but the records still give evidence of the evolution that has taken place from a lower to a higher conception of God.

While thus the national God of Israel was a God of the desert, the people began slowly to conquer Palestine; sometimes they extorted tribute from the inhabitants of the cities, sometimes they were forced to bow to the latter's military and police forces; but in the long run they became gradually accustomed to the sedentary habits of an agricultural country. It became almost impossible to remain

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<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that the text (1 Kings xviii. 38) does not state whence the fire came.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Judges vi. 21; xiii. 19-20; 1 Chr. xxi. 26; 2 Chr. vii. 1, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Judges vii. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Commonly designated *JER* in the nomenclature of the higher critics.

faithful to the precepts of life that would be pleasing to the heart of the old Yahveh of the desert, and the people were constantly but naturally hankering after the worship of Baal, the God of the Canaanite civilisation. Hence the constant reproaches of the prophets; and there appear to have been no people in the neighborhood that turned their back so readily upon their national deities. Listen, for instance, to the complaints of a prophet as late as Jeremiah :

"Moreover the word of the Lord came to me, saying, go and cry in the ears of Jerusalem, saying, Thus saith the Lord : I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness in a land that was not sown. Israel was holiness unto the Lord, and the first fruits of his increase : all that devour him shall offend ; evil shall come upon them, saith the Lord. Hear ye the word of the Lord, O house of Jacob, and all the families of the house of Israel : Thus saith the Lord, What iniquity have your fathers found in me, that they are gone far from me, and have walked after vanity, and are become vain ? Neither said they, Where is the Lord that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, that led us through the wilderness, through a land of deserts and of pits, through a land of drought, and of the shadow of death, through a land that no man passed through, and where no man dwelt ? And I brought you into a plentiful country, to eat the fruit thereof and the goodness thereof ; but when ye entered, ye defiled my land, and made mine heritage an abomination. The priests said not Where is the Lord? and they that handle the law knew me not : the pastors also transgressed against me, and the prophets prophesied by Baal, and walked after things that do not profit. Wherefore I will yet plead with you, saith the Lord, and with your children's children will I plead. For pass over the isles of Chittin, and see ; and send unto Kedar, and consider diligently, and see if there be such a thing. Hath a nation changed their gods, which are yet no gods? but my people have changed their glory for that which doth not profit. Be astonished, O ye heavens, at this, and be horribly afraid, be ye very desolate, saith the Lord, For my people have committed two evils ; they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water." Jeremiah ii. 1-13.

The very comparison of the spring that wells up naturally and the artificial cistern is suggestive. God, to the prophet, or at least in the traditional phraseology which still clings to him, is like the living fountain of an oasis, representing the immediate blessings of nature that are freely given and come without the efforts of the artificial methods of human civilisation. The fertile country of Pales-

tine which the Israelites had invaded, regarding it as their heritage, will yield more and better food than the desert, and there is no need to defile the land by the abomination of Canaanitic civilisation and idolatry.<sup>1</sup>

An interesting parallelism to the ancient Yahveh worship of the Israelites is found in another Semitic race of the same region, called the Nabatæans, an Arabian tribe inhabiting in ancient times the steppes in the south east of Palestine. They are mentioned in the Old Testament under the name of *Nebaioth* (Isa. lx. 7) and said to have descended from Nebajoth, the oldest son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 13).

Diodorus Siculus (ix. 94) tells us that the Nabatæans inhabited the mountains of Seir and that for the sake of preserving their liberty they retained a nomadic life, regarding agriculture in every form a crime and a felony. They planted no trees, no wheat, no vineyards, but grew rich as merchants of the caravan trade between South Arabia and Egypt. Antigonos, one of the Diadochs, tried to subdue the proud sons of the desert but failed to conquer them. The Maccabees found in the Nabatæans valuable friends and supporters of their cause. (1 Macc. v. 24 ff. and ix. 35).

The proverbial aversion of the Jews to agriculture and handicraft and their unusual talents for commercial enterprises may have been inherited from the days of their desert life and would still show the influence of their ancient Yahveh religion.

Gods were realities in the times of polytheism. Each god stood for a certain idea and represented some definite social or natural forces, and it was by no means indifferent at what shrine the people worshipped. And here lies the importance of the Yahveh cult, and it appears to me the reason of its final survival. While

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<sup>1</sup> The holiness of Israel unto the Lord is not the holiness in the modern or even the Buddhist sense of the word. Holiness means consecration, and consecration was, according to the religious notions of the time in Judea, a condition of being pledged to a certain course of conduct. Thus קֹדֶשׁ and קְדֻשָּׁהּ acquire the meaning of male and female "prostitutes," signifying persons consecrated to indecent purposes in the temple service of Astarte. Men like Sampson were considered holy unto the Lord, yet their holiness was not a moral sanctification but a mere abstinence from the luxuries of Canaanitic civilisation.

the more advanced pagan civilisation rendered the god-conception of the people idolatrous and led civilisation away into the enervating vices of artificial conditions both in their social relations of a class-system and the habits and beliefs of city-life, the sons of the desert remained simple free men, strong in body and soul, democratic, Brutus-like in spirit, without shrinking from regicide,<sup>1</sup> animated by the pride of independence. It is no matter of accident that the English Puritans drew their inspiration mainly from the Old Testament, for there they found a kindred spirit that justified a war for freedom and the decapitation of a monarch,—principles which cannot be deduced from the meek morality of the New Testament.

We may mention in this connexion that the Jews, contrary to the commonly accepted notion, have always been stubborn fighters and make good soldiers still. The record of the conquest of Palestine and the destruction of Jerusalem through the Romans under Titus exhibit a most desperate resistance against superior forces.<sup>2</sup> There is an unwritten law in the German and other European armies not to allow Jews to become officers of the army, but they served in the ranks, and when permission was given to the Jews to celebrate Purim, there were found more than ten thousand Jews before Metz alone. An article in the *New York Tribune* proves that in the United States the Jews according to their percentage in the population did a fair share of fighting. We are told :

“The number of Jews in this country at the time of the revolutionary war was small, but even from the scant congregation there was a liberal representation in the continental army.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Judges iii. 20-21.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, Cornill's *History of the People of Israel*.

<sup>3</sup> The statistics prepared by Mr. Wolf show that there were many Jewish officers of high rank under Washington. Among these were Colonel Solomon Bush, Captain Joseph Bloomfield, Surgeon Moses Bloomfield, Major Louis Bush, Colonel Isaac Franks, Colonel David S. Franks, Quartermaster Benjamin Hart, Colonel Isaacs, Captain Jacob de la Motta, Major Benjamin Nones, and many others, besides a large number of enlisted men. When the war was over the Jewish congregations of Savannah, Ga., and Newport, R. I., sent addresses to General Washington, who said in one of his answers: “May the children of the stock of Abraham who dwell in this land continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other in-

"On the roster of the regular army there were up to 1895 the names of ninety-six Jews. The list includes the names of men in every branch of the service, many with a distinguished and all of them with an honorable record.

"The following list gives the number of Jews who served in the various wars:<sup>1</sup>

In the Continental army.....	46
In the War of 1812.....	44
In the Mexican War .....	58
In the United States regular army.....	96
In the United States navy.....	78
In the Civil War:	
Staff officers in the Union army.....	16
In the Confederate army.....	24
Officers in the Confederate army.....	11
Soldiers in the Union and the Confederate armies.....	7,984

The original Yahveh cult was opposed to civilisation itself, and to hand-made gods, but the good features of civilisation were gradually forced upon the children of Israel. Their original severity began to relent, and at last the people clamored for a king, which meant a surrender of one of the most important points of difference between themselves and the Gentiles. This change had apparently become a matter of necessity, a question of life and death; for Samuel, the popular leader of Israel in those days, yielded reluctantly but graciously to the demand. The change had taken place and had become an irredeemable fact; the free children of the desert had begun to live in towns and villages, and the establishment of an appropriate government became the direst need of the times. But the ideals of freedom, of a purely spiritual worship, of a belief in the nearness to God, a hatred of man-made gods, and temples built by the hands of men, remained. When the people had become accustomed to living in houses, the ideal of the desert liberty with its brotherly communism and religious fervor still lingered with them. They had adopted the habits of agricultural life, but they still remembered the old tradition, and making a compromise with the faith of their fathers, they set apart

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habitants, while every one shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid."

<sup>1</sup> Considering the present percentage of Jews in this country, the figures are not extraordinarily large, still they prove that the fighting metal of the Jews is commonly underrated.



the seventh year for Yahveh as a year-sabbath, and celebrated the fiftieth as a jubilee in which they started life over again, returning to the communism of the ancient desert life and returning to the original division of the lands. This is done to remember the nomadic freedom where the land belongs to Yahveh and all the inhabitants are strangers and sojourners with him. We read in Leviticus xxv :

"Six years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard, and gather in the fruit thereof; but in the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land, a sabbath for the Lord: thou shalt neither sow thy field, nor prune thy vineyard. That which groweth of its own accord of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, neither gather the grapes of thy vine undressed: for it is a year of rest unto the land.

"And thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years. Then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the jubile to sound on the tenth day of the seventh month, in the day of atonement shall ye make the trumpet sound throughout all your land. And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubile unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family. A jubile shall that fiftieth year be unto you: ye shall not sow, neither reap that which groweth of itself in it, nor gather the grapes in it of thy vine undressed. For it is the jubile; it shall be holy unto you: ye shall eat the increase thereof out of the field.

"Ye shall not therefore oppress one another; but thou shalt fear thy God: for I am the Lord your God.

"The land shall not be sold for ever: for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me."

Ideals do not die. If they are wrong, they will be purified, but they cannot easily be eradicated; and the men who endeavored to preserve the old ideals of the original Yahveh worship secluded themselves and continued to live after the fashion of the Kenites and Rechabites. They were called Nazirees<sup>1</sup> or separatists, נַזִּירִים being likened unto the vines of the sabbath year when they remain unclipped and are not touched by the pruning knife.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In the English version they are called "Nazarites."

<sup>2</sup> The report of Samson's birth and the rôle which a stranger plays in it, who would not eat bread (Judges xiii. 16) and "did wondrously" in making the fire for

A remarkable conservatism of nomadic habits is exhibited in the Mohammedan custom that the pilgrims to Mecca neither shave, nor have their hair and their nails cut, nor have their hair combed, lest their bodies become defiled by human interference with the purity of untouched nature.

The Nazirees disappeared in the course of time, but during the national reawakening in the wars of the Maccabees, the imagination of the people was haunted by old recollections<sup>1</sup> and we hear again of Nazirees. Yet there is this difference: While the old Nazirees were men and women who continued in their old habits and regarded it a matter of conscience not to be contaminated by the luxuries of civilisation, the Nazirees of the days of the Maccabees became an institution which had a regular standing in the religious organisation of the country, and was rather the product of an artificial zeal for archaistic conditions.

There were Nazirees who took the vow for a certain time and there were Nazirees for life, and it is more than simply probable that the sect of Nazarenes<sup>2</sup> are the lineal descendants of the old Nazirees in the historical evolution of Judaism. We retain the word Nazarene for men like John the Baptist and the whole organisation of the pious Jewish sect from which Jesus of Nazareth proceeded, in order to distinguish them from the old Nazirees, or Nazarites.

The Nazarenes are characterised by an adhesion to communism; they lived in the simplest possible manner and looked upon the rich as destined to eternal punishment in Gehenna.

The main difference between the Nazarenes and their predecessors, the ancient Nazirees, consists in the Gnostic tendencies<sup>3</sup> of the former which originated in Syria under the influence of the religious speculations of India, after the removal of the national bar-

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the burnt offering, is very instructive, and, though the story may be a legend, illustrates the life of the remnant of the Yahveh devotees.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Macc. iii. 49; conf. Josephus, B. f. ii. 15, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Greek *Naζαραῖοι*, commonly but without sufficient reason translated "Nazarenes," not "Nazirees."

<sup>3</sup> We have proved in another place that Gnosticism in all its essential characteristics is a pre-Christian movement.

riers by Alexander the Great. Persian and Hindu thought seems to have affected the faith of the Nazarenes as strongly as that of the Therapeutæ of Egypt, who are an analogous and contemporaneous movement, but we cannot be blind to several traces of the old traditions of an ancient Yahvehism, which are faithfully preserved in the Nazarene movement.

John the Baptist, the leader of the Nazarenes, withdrew into the desert, "and the same John had his raiment of camel's hair and a leather girdle about his loins; and his meat was locusts and wild honey."

Whatever similarity of doctrine may have obtained between the religions of India and the Gnostic sects of Palestine—the Esenes, the Zabians, the Ebionites, and the Nazarenes—in his exterior John the Baptist apparently resembled the ancient Naziree more than a Buddhist. A Buddhist monk would not have worn a leather girdle, nor would he have eaten locusts. The son of the desert, however, limits his needs to primitive raiment and food, and would not wear a rope made of hemp by a weaver so long as he could wear a leather belt.

Jesus of Nazareth, who also was a Nazarene, speaks of himself as a nomad, saying, "The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests; but the son of man hath not where to lay his head."

The statements concerning Yahveh, as being originally the God of Moses's father-in-law, the Kenite, and further that the Rechabites and Nazirees were more conservative Yahveh-worshippers in their peculiar ethics and general habits of life, than the rest of the people, is an undeniable fact upon which all Biblical schools agree. All the facts upon which our arguments are based have been accepted by such Biblical scholars as are contributors to Riehm's *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums*, where the articles on Jabez, Jethro, the Kenites, the Nabatæans, the Rechabites, and the Nazirees, may be consulted with profit.

Professor Budde made the historical Yahveh and his worshippers the subject of his lectures at the University of Chicago and at other institutions of the United States, and brought out the features of the desert God with great force and clearness, setting forth

many points better than did his predecessors and colleagues, and adding much new thought of original research. But those critics of his who imagine that all these ideas have been invented by him and are held by him alone, are very ill informed on the state of Biblical criticism. We differ from Budde's views mainly as to the cause which changed the desert god into the universal god of righteousness and of truth. Budde holds that Yahveh as the God of the covenant represented a moral ideal, the ideal of fidelity. And it is due to this moral element in the character of Yahveh that he could be transformed into a God of righteousness. We believe that the desert-religion itself possesses a power of moral regeneration, being a faith in liberty and self-reliance, in brotherhood, and in the solidarity of all men, in the spirituality and omnipresent nearness of God, which are ideals that can be modified in the course of history, but will never lose their fascination for the dreamers and reformers of mankind.

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At first sight the idea is apt to shock a good Christian that Yahveh was an outspoken enemy of agriculture and civilisation; but he who is familiar with the spiritual evolution of other peoples cannot be surprised, for the Yahveh-conception of the Kenites is exactly the religion which is natural to a nomad state of existence, and our Indians have remained almost to this day under the influence of a similar, nay, in all essential points, of the very same, conviction.

The history of the Indians, since the arrival of the whites, has been a tragedy, which, considering the extent of the theater on which it is enacted and the number of nations involved, is the grandest in the world. Some blame the Indians on account of their savage manners, others blame the whites for their repeated breaches of faith; but the real cause lies deeper. The Indian as an Indian must disappear before the white, because the world-conception of the Indian is incompatible with the world-conception of the white races. The notions of justice and right, of duties and of the purpose of life, are different among the two races, and the white represent the superior and stronger civilisation, which will inevitably

expel the older and antiquated mode of life, even though ancient laws and sacred treaties may have guaranteed its continued existence forever. It is the repetition of the story of Cain and Abel. Abel, the keeper of sheep, offers to Yahveh the firstlings of his flock, and "Yahveh was pleased with Abel and his offering;" but Cain brought an offering of the fruit of the ground, and "Yahveh was not pleased with Cain and his offerings." The nomad has the religious sanction of tradition, but the God of evolution decides in favor of agriculture against the continuance of a nomadic state of life.

In pointing out the analogies between the Kenite Yahveh-worship and the religious belief of the North American Indian we are overwhelmed with a wealth of material and must therefore limit ourselves to such quotations as will bring out the parallelism most strikingly.

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When the whites set foot on American soil, they were

first greeted as the saviors, as a superior race, as the children of the sun; but this view which made the conquest of Mexico easy to



THE MESSENGER WHO SUMMONS THE GUESTS  
FOR THE MOUNTAIN CHANT DANCE.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Mountain Chant Dance is performed among the Navajos in commemoration of the happy escape of a young warrior from the Utes, a hostile tribe, that

the Spaniards changed into bitter hostility when the American natives could no longer doubt the perfidious rascality of the invaders. Since then prophets have arisen from time to time and their doctrines, although different in their details, were always to the same purpose and preached the same religion, which bears a close analogy to the Yahveh cult of the Kenites. The Indian prophets all claim to have been in the presence of God. And the God of the Indians, whatever be his name, *Manitou*, the great spirit; *Ságalee Tyee*, the great chief above; *Nämi Piäp*, our brother; *Manabozho*, the great first doer; *Pachacama*, world-quickener, etc., etc., is always a God of nomadic convictions. Therefore these prophets teach a rigorous abstinence from all the boons of civilisation. The white man's dress, his flint and steel gun, every tool, must be discarded and also fire water and other strong drinks; and the Indians must return to the customs of their fathers, be clad in buckskin, use the fire sticks for making fire, and make an honest living by fishing and hunting, and hold all property in common. At the same time they bid the Indian to be of good cheer, they need not be afraid of the superiority of the white man's weapons, for Manitou, the Great Spirit, will fight for his people.

While pointing out the errors of these prophets we must not conceal the fact that all of them exercised a very good influence upon their people, inducing them to abandon drunkenness, wife-beating, adultery, stealing, and other crimes.

The burden of the message of the oldest prophet of whom we have definite and detailed information, the prophet of the Delawares

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had captured him, and is believed to cure diseases of any kind by the assistance of the unseen powers that are invoked in the ceremony. The messenger bears feathers of the wild turkey on his arms, symbolising wings. The eagle feathers on his head bode success. The plumed wand indicates the sacredness of his mission. The collar of beaver skin with a whistle attached to it is his sign of recognition, and in a bag of fawnskin he carries consecrated cornmeal which he sprinkles over rocks and tree-roots on his path, for counteracting evil influences.

Dances played an important part in the religious worship of the Hebrews, and so they do still among the American Indians. Each dance has its own significance, and is supposed to confer, by its symbolism, blessings of various kinds, success in war, salvation from danger, recovery from sickness, rain after a drought, good luck in hunting and fishing, etc., etc., upon those who participate in its performance.

who made his appearance at Tuscarawas in 1762, is "a return to the old Indian life which he declared to be the divine command, as revealed to himself in a wonderful vision." In the name of "the Master of Life," he says :<sup>1</sup>

"Did not your bow and arrow maintain you? You needed neither gun, powder, nor any other object. The flesh of animals was your food; their skins your raiment. But when I saw you inclined to evil, I removed the animals into the depths of the forest that you might depend on your brothers for your necessities, for your clothing. Again become good and do my will and I will send animals for your sustenance."

The idea of purification occurs as frequently in the sermons of the Indian prophet as in the Mosaic law, but it would be wrong to interpret either in the sense in which the word is used to-day. John McCullough who had been taken by the Indians when a child of eight years and lived among them for some years speaks as follows of the hieroglyphics of the Delaware prophet which were used to impress his doctrines (*loc. cit.*, p. 668):

"The first or principal doctrine they taught them was to purify themselves from sin, which they taught they could do by the use of emetics and abstinence from carnal knowledge of the different sexes; to quit the use of firearms, and to live entirely in the original state that they were in before the white people found out their country. Nay, they taught that that fire was not pure that was made by steel and flint, but that they should make it by rubbing two sticks together. . . . It was said that their prophet taught them, or made them believe, that he had his instructions immediately from *Keesh-she-la-mil-lang-up*, or a being that *thought* us into being, and that by following his instructions they would, in a few years, be able to drive the white people out of their country.

"I knew a company of them who had secluded themselves for the purpose of purifying from sin, as they thought they could do. I believe they made no use of fire arms. They had been out more than two years before I left them. . . . It was said that they made use of no other weapons than their bows and arrows. They also taught, in shaking hands, to give the left hand in token of friendship, as it denoted that they gave the heart along with the hand."

Pontiac, the hero of the first general uprising of the Indians, is greatly influenced by the Delaware prophet (*loc. cit.*, p. 669):

"The history of this war, so eloquently told by Parkman, reads like some old knightly romance. The warning of the Indian girl; the concerted attack on the

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<sup>1</sup> *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1892-1893, p. 665.

garrisons ; the ball play at Mackinac on the king's birthday, and the massacre that followed ; the siege of Fort Pitt and the heroic defense of Detroit ; the bloody battle



of Bushy run, where the painted savage recoiled before the kilted Highlander, as brave and almost as wild ; Bouquet's march into the forests of the Ohio, and the submission of the vanquished tribes—all these things must be passed over here. They have already been told by a master of language. But the contest of savagery against civilisation has but one ending, and the scene closes with the death of Pontiac, a broken-spirited wanderer, cut down at last by a hired assassin of his own race, for whose crime the blood of whole tribes was poured out in atonement."

Other prophets arose among the Shawano. One of them is Laulewasikaw, who later on called himself Tenskwatawa, which may be translated by the messenger of the gospel, the literal meaning being "the open door," leading to happiness.<sup>1</sup> He announced himself as the bearer of a revelation from "the Master of Life," and declared that he "had been taken up to the spirit-world where he was permitted to lift the veil of the past and the future . . . he announced that he had re-



<sup>1</sup> Both portraits on this page represent Tenskwatawa, the Shawano prophet.



ceived power to cure all diseases and to arrest the hand of death in sickness or on the battlefield." He condemned the sorcery and witchcraft practices and showed a great zeal for his cause. Nor did he shrink from ridding himself by cruel death penalties of all who dared to oppose his sacred claims.



TECUMTHA.<sup>1</sup>

The first portrait is taken from one given in Lossing's *American Revolution and War of 1812*, III (1875), p. 189, and thus described: "The portrait of the Prophet is from a pencil sketch made by Pierre Le Dru, a young French trader, at Vincennes, in 1808. He made a sketch of Tecumtha at about the same time, both of which I found in possession of his son at Quebec in 1848, and by whom I was kindly permitted to copy them." The other is a copy of the picture painted by Catlin in 1831, after the tribe had removed to Kansas. The artist describes him as blind in one eye, and painted him holding his medicine fire in his right hand and his sacred string of beans in the other.

<sup>1</sup> The name Tecumtha means literally "I cross the path of some one," which has been translated "the panther lying in wait," "crouching lion," or "shooting

Tecumtha, the greatest Indian hero and a military genius of first rank, who became an ally of the English for the sake of fighting the Americans, was an incarnation of the traditional religion of his race, and he was seriously using his words in their literal sense when he said "the sun is my father, and the earth is my mother. On her bosom I will rest."

The restlessness of the Creek Indians and the long bloody war subsequent thereto is probably due to a visit of Tecumtha, but at any rate their enthusiasm found expression in prophecies which promised that "instead of beef and bacon they would have venison and instead of chickens they would have [wild] turkeys."

Kānakūk, the Kickapoo prophet, had seen the Great Spirit who

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star." The animal is not mentioned in the original but is suggested by the fact that Tecumtha belongs to the Shawano clan of the clawfoot beasts, such as the panther, the lion, etc.

His historian in the *Annual Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1892-1893, says of him: "His father had fallen under the bullets of the Virginians while leading his warriors at the bloody battle of Point Pleasant, in 1774. His eldest and dearest brother had lost his life in an attack on a southern frontier post, and another had been killed fighting by his side at Wayne's victory in 1794. What wonder that the young Tecumtha declared that his flesh crept at the sight of a white man!"

His appearance is characterised as, "Of commanding figure, nearly six feet in height and compactly built; of dignified bearing and piercing eye; with the fiery eloquence of a Clay and the clear-cut logic of a Webster; abstemious in habit, charitable in thought and action, brave as a lion, but humane and generous withal,—in a word, an aboriginal American knight,—his life was given to his people, and he fell at last, like his father and his brothers before him, in battle with the destroyers of his nation, the champion of a lost cause and a dying race.

"He hated the whites as the destroyers of his race, but prisoners and the defenseless knew well that they could rely on his honor and humanity and were safe under his protection.

"When only a boy—for his military career began in childhood—he had witnessed the burning of a prisoner, and the spectacle was so abhorrent to his feelings that by an earnest and eloquent harangue he induced the party to give up the practice forever. In later years his name was accepted by helpless women and children as a guaranty of protection even in the midst of hostile Indians.

"Three small silver crosses or coronets were suspended from the lower cartilage of his aquiline nose, and a large silver medallion of George the Third, which I believe his ancestor had received from Lord Dorchester when the latter was governor-general of Canada, was attached to a mixed-colored wampum string and hung round his neck. . . . The portrait of Tecumtha above given is from a pencil sketch by Pierre Le Dru, in which he appears as a brigadier-general of the British army."

commanded him to tell his people (*loc. cit.*, p. 695) "not to steal, not to tell lies, not to murder, not to quarrel, and to burn their medicine bags. If they did not, they could not get on the straight way, but would have to go to the crooked path of the bad."

Kānakūk used a peculiar prayer-stick which is said to be similar to the hieroglyphics of the Delaware prophet of 1764, and is in line with the whole system of birchbark pictographs among the northern tribes. Mr. Mooney describes the prayer-sticks as follows:

"These sticks were of maple, graven with hieroglyphic prayers and other religious symbols. They were carved by the prophet himself, who distributed them to every family in the tribe, deriving quite a revenue from their sale, and in this way increasing his influence both as a priest and as a man of property. Apparently every man, woman, and child in the tribe was at this time in the habit of reciting the prayers from these sticks on rising in the morning and before retiring for the night. This was done by placing the right index finger first under the upper character while repeating a short prayer which it suggested, then under the next, and the next, and so on to the bottom, the whole prayer, which was sung as a sort of chant, occupying about ten minutes" (*loc. cit.*, p. 697).



ON-SAW-KIE.<sup>1</sup>

Reading his prayers from the prayer-stick  
of the Shawnee prophet.

Of Smohalla, a chief of the Wánapûm and the prophet of the Nez Percé, it is asserted that "he has never worn the white man's dress or had his hair cut"—a custom which prevailed among the

<sup>1</sup> From a sketch of the *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1888-1889, p. 510. Another portrait of On-Saw-Kie will be found in the *Annual Reports* of 1892-1893, on p. 698.

Nasirim devotees among the ancient Israelites who were zealous in their faith in Yahveh and resembled the Rechabites. The answer he gave to Major McMurray in explanation of his dissatisfaction with the white people and their laws shows that he regarded private property as the root of all evil. He said :

"Once the world was all water and God lived alone. He was lonesome, he had no place to put his foot, so he scratched the sand up from the bottom and made the land, and he made the rocks, and he made trees, and he made a man ; and the man had wings and could go anywhere. The man was lonesome, and God made a woman. They ate fish from the water, and God made the deer and other animals, and he sent the man to hunt and told the woman to cook the meat and to dress the skins. Many more men and women grew up, and they lived on the banks of the great river whose waters were full of salmon. The mountains contained much game and there were buffalo on the planes. There were so many people that the stronger ones sometimes oppressed the weak and drove them from the best fisheries, which they claimed as their own. They fought and nearly all were killed, and their bones are to be seen in the hills yet. God was very angry at this and he took away their wings and commanded that the lands and fisheries should be common to all who lived upon them ; that they were never to be marked off or divided, but that the people should enjoy the fruits that God planted in the land, and the animals that lived upon it, and the fishes in the water. God said he was the father and the earth was the mother of mankind ; that nature was the law ; that the animals, and fish, and plants obeyed nature, and that man only was sinful. This is the old law." (*Loc. cit.*, pp. 720-721.)

The ethics of the Indian prophet remind us strongly of the answer given to Jaazaniah by the Rechabites. Smohalla continued :

"You ask me to plow the ground ! Shall I take a knife and tear my mother's bosom ? Then when I die she will not take me to her bosom to rest.

"You ask me to dig for stone ! Shall I dig under her skin for her bones ? Then when I die I cannot enter her body to be born again.

"You ask me to cut grass and make hay and sell it, and be rich like white men ! But how dare I cut off my mother's hair ?

"It is a bad law, and my people cannot obey it. I want my people to stay with me here. All the dead men will come to life again. Their spirits will come to their bodies again. We must wait here in the homes of our fathers and be ready to meet them in the bosom of our mother." (*Ibid.*)

Major McMurray objected that the Indians also dug up roots, but Smohalla replied in further explanation of his views :

"We simply take the gifts that are freely offered. We no more harm the earth than would an infant's fingers harm its mother's breast. But the white man tears up large tracts of land, runs deep ditches, cuts down forests, and changes the whole face of the earth. You know very well this is not right. Every honest man," said he, looking at me searchingly, "knows in his heart that this is all wrong. But the white men are so greedy they do not consider these things." (*Loc. cit.*, p. 724.)

Many prophets and Messiahs have risen among the Indians and most of them preached war and perished in the war they had excited. But at last an apostle of peace came, the Messiah Wovoka, who in recent years established among the tribes in the far North West a new religious ceremony called the Ghost-dance which teaches goodwill among men on earth, a resurrection of the dead, and life everlasting.

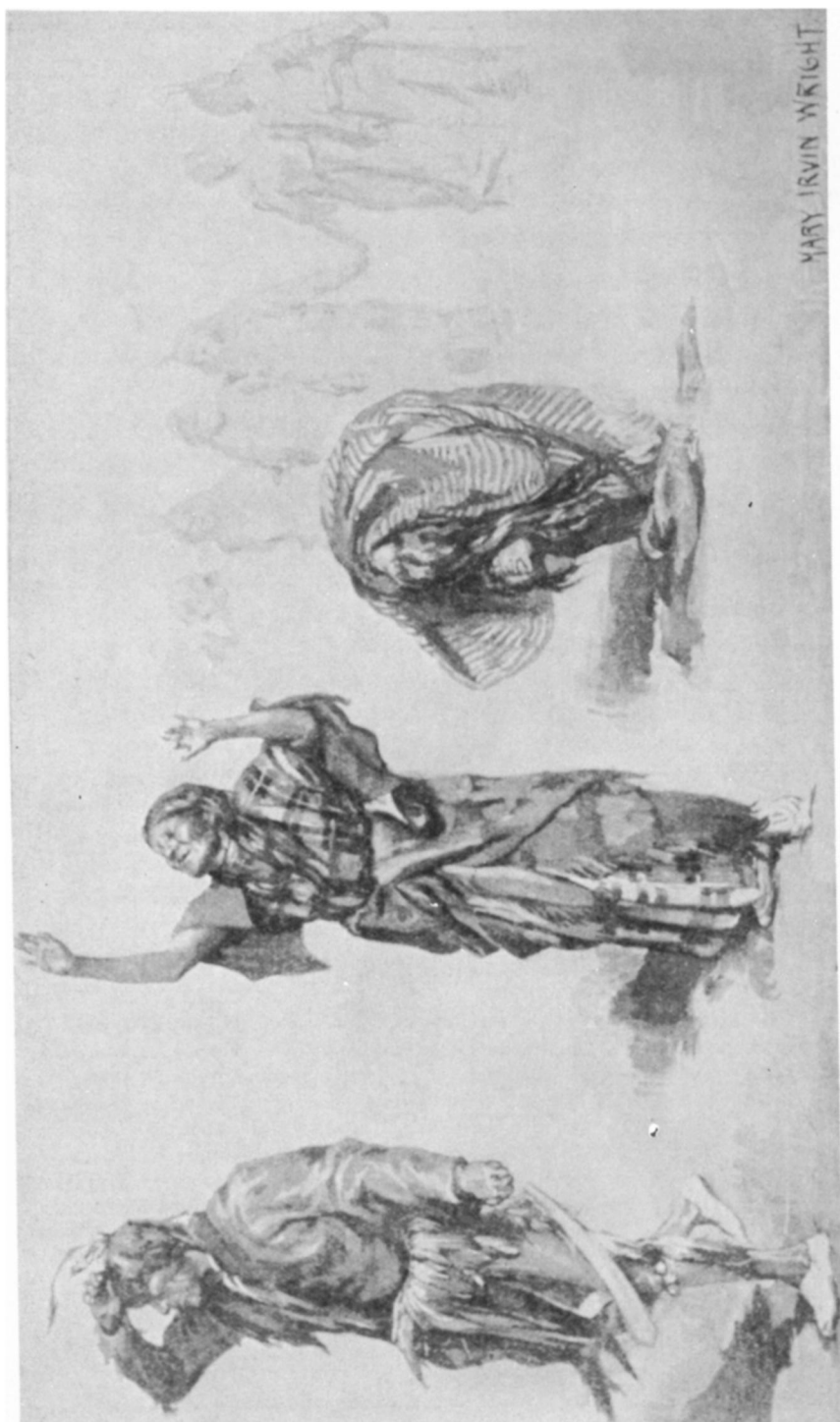
Wovoka, the prophet of the Ghost-dance religion, was born about 1855. He is the son of Tävibo, a chief of Mason Valley, reported to have been "a dreamer endowed with supernatural powers and reported to have been invulnerable."<sup>1</sup>

The revelation which Wovoka received from the hands of God is described as follows :

" 'The sun died ' (was eclipsed) and he (Wovoka) fell asleep in the daytime and was taken up to the other world. Here he saw God, with all the people who had died long ago engaged in their oldtime sports and occupations, all happy and forever young. It was a pleasant land and full of game. After showing him all, God told him he must go back and tell his people they must be good and love one another, have no quarreling, and live in peace with the whites ; that they must work, and not lie or steal ; and they must put away all the old practices that sa-

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<sup>1</sup> Wovoka means "the Cutter." He lived for some time with David Wilson, a white man, who took great interest in him and gave him the name Jack Wilson. Later on the prophet assumed the name of his paternal grandfather Kwohitsang (Big Rumbling Belly). Thus he is known by three names, but his own people call him "Our Father." His father's name Tävibo means "White Man," which has given rise to the notion that Wovoka is a half-breed ; but he is a pure Indian and practically speaks only his native tongue, the Paiute language (A. R. 92-93, p. 771), his English being, as Mr. Mooney states (*ib.*, 767), intolerable. There has been no, or at any rate very little, white influence on the formation of his religion. The paper on which the report of the Ethnological Bureau is based, "was taken down on the spot from the dictation of the Messiah as his message to be carried to the prairie tribes" (*ib.*, p. 776). Mr. Mooney adds: "No white man had any part, directly or indirectly, in its production, nor was it originally intended to be seen by white men."



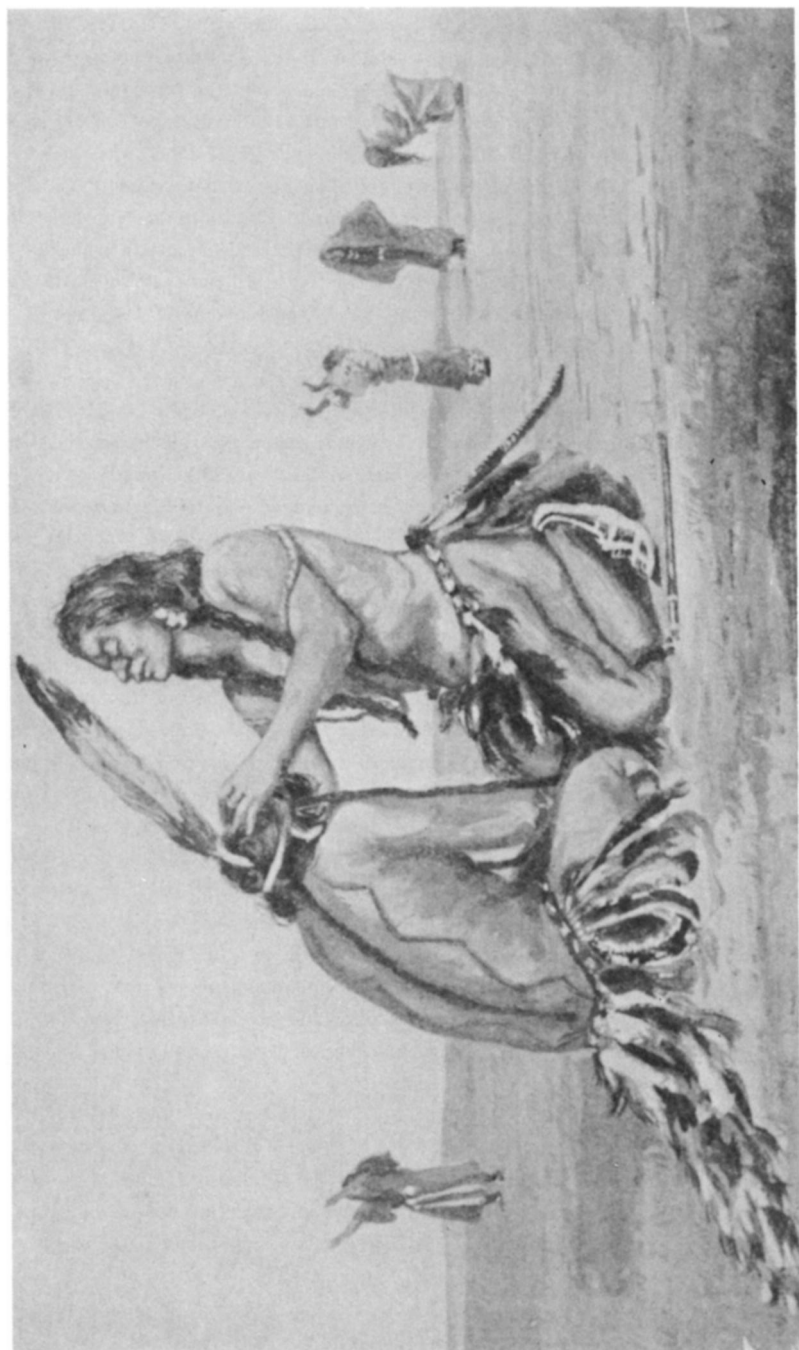
THE ECSTASY OF THE GHOST DANCE.

vored of war ; that if they faithfully obeyed his instructions they would at last be reunited with their friends in this other world, where there would be no more death or sickness or old age. He was then given the dance which he was commanded to bring back to his people. By performing this dance at intervals, for five consecutive days each time, they would secure this happiness to themselves and hasten the event. Finally God gave him control over the elements so that he could make it rain or snow or be dry at will, and appointed him his deputy to take charge of affairs in the West, while 'Governor Harrison' would attend to matters in the East, and he, God, would look after the world above. He then returned to earth and began to preach as he was directed, convincing the people by exercising the wonderful powers that had been given him." (*Loc. cit.*, 771-772.)

Here is a summary of Wovoka's religion :

"The great underlying principle of the Ghost-dance doctrine is that the time will come when the whole Indian race, living and dead, will be reunited upon a regenerated earth, to live a life of aboriginal happiness, forever free from death, disease and misery. . . . Different dates have been assigned at various times for the fulfillment of the prophecy. . . . The Messiah himself has set several dates from time to time, as one prediction after another failed to materialise, and in his message to the Cheyenne and Arapaho, in August, 1891, he leaves the whole matter an open question. . . . The moral code inculcated is as pure and comprehensive in its simplicity as anything found in religious systems from the days of Gautama Buddha to the time of Jesus Christ. '*Do no harm to any one. Do right always.*' Could anything be more simple, and yet more exact and exacting? It inculcates honesty—'*Do not tell lies.*' It preaches good will—'*Do no harm to any one.*' It forbids the extravagant mourning customs formerly common among the tribes—'*When your friends die, you must not cry,*' which is interpreted by the prairie tribes as forbidding the killing of horses, the burning of tipis and destruction of property, the cutting off of the hair and the gashing of the body with knives, all of which were formerly the sickening rule at every death until forbidden by the new doctrine. . . . It preaches peace with the whites and obedience to authority until the day of deliverance shall come. Above all, it forbids war—'*You must not fight.*'"

"It is hardly possible for us to realise the tremendous and radical change which this doctrine works in the whole spirit of savage life. The career of every Indian has been the warpath. His proudest title has been that of warrior. His conversation by day and his dreams by night have been of bloody deeds upon the enemies of his tribe. His highest boast was in the number of his scalp trophies, and his chief delight at home was in the war dance and the scalp dance. The thirst for blood and massacre seemed inborn in every man, woman, and child of every tribe. Now comes a prophet as a messenger from God to forbid not only war, but all that savors of war—the war dance, the scalp dance, and even the bloody torture of the sun dance—and his teaching is accepted and his words obeyed by four fifths



PRAYING IN THE GHOST DANCE.



of all the warlike predatory tribes of the mountains and the great plains. Only those who have known the deadly hatred that once animated Ute, Cheyenne, and Pawnee, one toward another, and are able to contrast it with their present spirit of mutual brotherly love, can know what the Ghost-dance religion has accomplished in bringing the savage into civilisation. It is such a revolution as comes but once in the life of a race."<sup>1</sup> (*Loc. cit.*, pp. 777-783.)

The extent and the intensity of the devotion of the prairie tribes to the new religion are remarkable. The reception which Mr. Mooney had among the Indians after his interview with the Messiah is a good evidence of the power of the new faith. He says:

"On returning to the Cheyenne and Arapaho in Oklahoma, after my visit to Wovoka in January, 1892, I was at once sought by my friends of both tribes, anxious to hear the report of my journey and see the sacred things that I had brought back from the Messiah. The Arapaho especially, who are of more spiritual nature than any of the other tribes, showed a deep interest and followed intently every detail of the narrative. As soon as the news of my return was spread abroad, men and women, in groups and singly, would come to me, and after grasping my hand would repeat a long and earnest prayer, sometimes aloud, sometimes with the lips silently moving, and frequently with tears rolling down the cheeks, and the whole body trembling violently from stress of emotion. Often before the prayer was ended, the condition of the devotee bordered on the hysterical, very little less than in the Ghost-dance itself. The substance of the prayer was usually an appeal to the Messiah to hasten the coming of the promised happiness, with a petition that, as the speaker himself was unable to make the long journey, he might, by grasping the hand of one who had seen and talked with the Messiah face to face, be enabled in his trance visions to catch a glimpse of the coming glory. During all this performance the bystanders awaiting their turn kept reverent silence" (*ibid.*, p. 778).

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We are at the end of our discussion. A comparison of the similarities of Yahveh and Manitou and an explanation of the vari-

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<sup>1</sup> Probably all the tribes west of the Missouri River (about 146,000 souls), excepting the five civilised nations of the Indian Territory, heard of the new doctrine. The Paiute, the Shoshoni, the Arapaho, the Cheyenne, the Caddo, the Pawnees, and others, have almost unanimously accepted it. But of the Comanche only a small minority, and of the Sioux about one half of the 26,000, took an active part in the ceremony. "It may safely be said, however, that the doctrine and ceremony of the Ghost-Dance found more adherents among our tribes than any similar Indian religious movement, with the single possible exception of the crusade inaugurated by Tenskwatawa, the Shawano prophet, in 1805" (*ib.*, p. 926-927).

cus dissimilarities is not needed. Both are sufficiently apparent. But before we close we may be allowed to point out a lesson.

The old God-conception which was strongly anthropomorphic led to a narrow and almost childish conception of the nature of revelation. God was supposed to have neglected all other nations and to have repaired in person to Mount Sinai. He marched with the Israelites through the desert as a pillar of fire by night and a pillar of smoke by day. He worked miracles after the fashion of the Indian medicine man, and did not scorn to let his prophets vie in skill with Egyptian jugglers. Moses and Jethro are regarded as men of God, but some of our missionaries do not hesitate to denounce the Indian prophets as misguided villains who are inspired by the Devil.

Let us be just. Let us recognise that God speaks to mankind at sundry times and in divers manners (Hebr., i. 1). The Indian prophets with all their shortcomings are as truly inspired as the Hebrew prophets, although we grant that the latter were grander in their outlooks and at the same time more fortunate in forming links in the chain of a development that was destined to bring forth in due season the fruit of a more and more purified religion. We have the same fervor of prayer, the same vigor of religious conviction in both cases, and there is a similarity in the successive phases of the religious light which both are able to receive and comprehend. There are similar errors, similar temptations, similar trials, and the trials are hard. Many go to the wall on account of their narrowness which to them appears as faithfulness to God. But a remnant is left, and the remnant preserves the old ideals in a broadened conception which is truer and better than the narrow belief of the fathers.

It is difficult and even impossible to understand the ways of God from the old standpoint, but he who has received the clearer light of a scientific conception of the nature of religion in the light of the doctrine of evolution will comprehend the situation. We learn by experience. The explanations of mysteries of the human soul and the solutions of the problems of life are not given us directly and bodily, as a material gift can be handed over to one who

wants it, but must be the fruit of graduated lessons. Revelation is not one-sided, coming down upon earth from on high, but it grows in the heart of man by a gradual increase of man's divinity. If the truth shall bring salvation, it must become our own possession, it must be acquired by our own exertions.

Mankind started with ideals which were wrongly interpreted and became frequently a hindrance to progress. They cherished the ideals of nomad ethics, of life as a pilgrimage through a desert, of the kinship and solidarity of all the classes of society, the rich as well as the poor, the master and the slave, and last but not least, of a direct communion with the Divinity that shapes our ends. A fidelity to the errors of this desert religion, the belief in miracles, the efficacy of sacrifice and ritual, the sanctity of the letter of the law, and the magic intercession of some divine power, frequently brought destruction to the Jews, as it still helps to ruin the American Indians who continue to place their trust in the effectiveness of the incantations of their prophets. But for all that the ideal remains the same. Our sense of property may change, but the responsibility of the rich, the strong, the powerful, for their less fortunate fellows will remain unaltered. We remain brothers; we remain children of the same Deity; we remain pilgrims through the desert of life; we remain prophets of an omnipresent divine revelation which has not as yet become a closed book; we remain dreamers, and our dreams are the budding future of our race. Our dreams after all are realities: they are vaticinations of the things that will be.

It is probably no accident that Christianity, the new religion that sprung up in Palestine, was in all the intentions of its original founders, the Nazarenes, simply a reaction. Luther did not know that he represented an advance in the history of Christianity; he thought that he was a reformer, nothing more. That is the fate of progress. We return to the ideals of the past, and all the reformers of mankind become through their reactionary measures builders of a higher and better future. All of them built better than they knew.

Let us not lose confidence in the possibilities of religious progress, and if progress comes in the shape of a reform, by looking back to the ideals of the past, we need not fear that it will throw us back into barbarism. Mankind is still advancing, and no one can prevent the growth of a truer, nobler, and greater conception of the religious problem.

EDITOR.